

**USAID Quarterly Report  
Mozambique  
Political Party Training and Institutional Development  
Grant No: 656-G-00-98-00065-00  
January 1 to March 31 2001**

Under the terms of the September 30, 1998, agreement between USAID/Mozambique and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), NDI agreed to undertake a program to build the institutional capacity of political parties in Mozambique (PARTIDO). This report covers NDI program activities during the period January 1 through March 31, 2001.

## **I. Summary**

During this reporting period, NDI conducted training seminars and held extensive consultations with leaders of both RENAMO (Mozambique National Resistance) and FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique). In addition to the training, which focused on strategic planning, communication and negotiation skills, NDI conducted an assessment of FRELIMO's ability to conduct public opinion polls. The consultations were focused on further developing NDI's work-plan (in particular, timelines) and training contents and agendas, and on preparing terms of reference for the trainers.

NDI also attended the strategic planning workshops of the newly formed "Movement for Peace and Citizens," which seeks to increase citizen participation in the political process by stimulating dialogue between the political parties and civil society. NDI seeks to promote the participation and commitment from political parties in this activity and ensure that this complements the sub-grant activities of *Centro de Estudos de Democracia e Desenvolvimento* (Center for the Study of Democracy and Development, or CEDE).

As part of ongoing activities, NDI held consultations with the new USAID D&G team leader and worked on the baseline for the program indicators for results reporting to USAID. NDI's sub-grant administrator from Washington, D.C., and the regional finance officer from Johannesburg were in Maputo from February 19 to 22 to conduct staff training for NDI's sub-grantee CEDE, to prepare the sub-grant agreement and to establish the cooperative agreement.

## **II. Political Background**

### *Dhlakama abandons Dialogue with President Chissano*

The March dialogue between President Joaquim Chissano and Afonso Dhlakama, leader of RENAMO, were the third round of negotiations aimed at defusing ongoing political tensions in Mozambique. Dhlakama stormed out of the meeting with President Chissano, thus breaking off the dialogue between the two men that began in December. Dhlakama refused to attend the joint press conference at the end of the meeting, delegating this task to one of his

spokesmen. The meeting in December was the first time the two leaders had held face-to-face talks since the 1999 general elections.

Their key disagreement was over the appointment of provincial governors, with Dhlakama insisting that RENAMO nominate governors for the six provinces where it had won a majority in the 1999 general elections. RENAMO was demanding a constitutional amendment that would allow the majority party in each province to appoint governors. Chissano objected to this procedure on the grounds that the constitution should be looked at as a whole, not be altered piecemeal. Dhlakama also proposed that if a constitutional amendment was not possible, President Chissano should use his existing presidential powers to appoint governors suggested by RENAMO. For his part, President Chissano declared that changing the constitution was a prerogative of the Mozambique's parliament, since altering the way governors are appointed was not a minor change – the quasi-federal model proposed by Dhlakama clashed with the first article of the current constitution, which establishes the unity of the Mozambican state.

Currently it is not clear whether the working groups, set up as a result of the Chissano/Dhlakama dialogue, will continue to meet; they were to have reported back to both President Chissano and Dhlakama on March 15, but failed to do so.

#### *RENAMO disrupts first day of Assembly sitting*

Shouting, chanting and banging on the tables characterized the start of the first session of the Mozambican parliament in February, as opposition deputies first demanded a change in the agenda, then refused to vote on it. The agenda item in question was the problematic lifting of parliamentary immunity requested by the Attorney General for several deputies of the RENAMO-Electoral Union for "offences, some of which relate to disturbances during the 1999 election campaign." MPs decided to take up debate of this topic later during this sitting. Although it seemed that this parliamentary sitting would be a tempestuous one, there was a remarkable degree of cooperation in parliament, especially in the standing and ad hoc commissions: some knotty problems were resolved in inter-party negotiations. Revision of standing orders became a hot issue but was suddenly resolved by the two parliamentary party leaders with input from the party heads, which resulted in simple trades with both sides accepting some positions the other side had sought.

#### *Calls to Overhaul the Legal System*

The President of Mozambique's Supreme Court has reiterated calls for a deep overhaul of the country's judicial system so that it will be seen to serve all strata of society. The country's judicial system is complex beyond the grasp of most of the population, and with a drastic increase in crime and corruption, there is an urgent need to implement deep reforms, which take into account other concepts in the area of law and justice. Corruption could be fought with a well-organized Attorney General's Office. Active and impartial judges play a vital role in controlling the legality of the acts of other institutions, which intervene in the judicial process.

The Attorney General addressed the corruption problem in his annual report to parliament, calling for a purge of the police force in order to rid it of all who have links with organized crime. In his strikingly honest report to parliament, he stressed the sharp rise in violent crimes, which has created a climate of insecurity, fear and uncertainty, without an adequate response from the authorities.

#### *Democratic Institute for Peace and Development (IPAD) is launched*

Raul Domingos, the expelled former head of the parliamentary group of RENAMO, announced the creation of the "Democratic Institute for Peace and Development" (IPAD) in December. IPAD's objective is to create a space for dialogue, where civil society can discuss themes of national interest, and where a culture of peace, dialogue and national reconciliation can be advanced. Domingos has turned down as "premature" the idea of setting up yet another political party, to add to the 25 or so that already exist in Mozambique, and has opted for an institute "that will allow broad partnerships for launching various kinds of projects." IPAD is designed to promote broader political participation and to open issues for debate in a way that the two main parties do not do.

#### *Devastating Floods in the Central and Northern Provinces*

The floods that have again hit the central and north region of Mozambique have already claimed more than 75 lives and have affected and displaced 490,000 people. The floods in the Zambezi valley have destroyed more than 32,500 hectares of assorted crops, and at least 183 schools were closed. The government has made an urgent international appeal for assistance in the estimated amount of \$30.5 million U.S. dollars.

### **III. Program Activities**

During this reporting period NDI conducted a two-day training workshop for GRM (an independent Group for Reflection and Change) and a four-day assessment of FRELIMO's capabilities to conduct public opinion polls. NDI also participated in training activities hosted by other institutions involved in democracy and governance.

#### *Political Movements*

A two-day workshop was held in Beira on February 17 and 18 with GRM (Group for Reflection and Change), the group's first strategic planning event since its formation in 1998. The workshop was a necessary step because the movement faces an uncertain political future as an effective alternative at the local level. The workshop also served to develop participants' negotiation skills, which would be used for survival for the 2003 local elections and in case GRM is subsumed into the RENAMO coalition. There were 150 members from different "bairros" (neighborhoods) that participated in the workshop. At the end of the second day, GRM held internal elections for new leadership structures. NDI was asked by GRM to facilitate the strategic planning session and to conduct training on negotiation skills. The workshop was divided into three parts:

- The organization's Mission Values and Principles—a report on two years' activities for the GRM;
- Leadership; challenges and threats; strengths and weaknesses and how to overcome them; and
- The future of GRM vis-à-vis the next local elections of 2003.

During this session, Angela Abdula, the primary facilitator, also conducted training on negotiation skills. The discussions were highly interactive and participatory, taking place in both the plenary and in smaller working groups. It is undecided whether GRM will field candidates as an independent movement or in collaboration with an opposition political party, or become an NGO instead.

The internal elections were independently conducted by GRM, and NDI served as an observer. Dr F. Masquil, founder of the group, will remain the leader of the movement and become the President of the Board of Advisors, and the coordinator and other heads of department were also elected. Leaders of the GRM are inclined to contest the 2003 election independent of any party, but NDI believes that this discussion is not complete, as there is still a majority of members that feel that GRM should join the RENAMO coalition instead.

#### *FRELIMO Assessment to conduct Public opinion Polls*

Allan Rivlin, of HART Associates in Washington D.C., traveled to Maputo, Mozambique, from March 12 to 15 in order to conduct an assessment of FRELIMO's capabilities and infrastructure related to the conduct of public opinion polls. This assessment stems from a long-standing request from FRELIMO that NDI assist in the development of research skills for political party planning purposes and the development of new structures that are responsive to the constituency. The assessment was the first of three phases in the capacity-building process, which will also include both extensive training on techniques for polling and conducting a poll and with analysis of the results for message development.

The assessment involved examining and discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the party and the challenges and opportunities faced, as well as conducting a retrospective review with party campaign officers and party leaders. This last part of the review included a field trip to Manhica to gather information and get an idea of the social, economic and political arena outside Maputo. As part of the assessment of the existing capacity within Mozambique, Rivlin met with two Mozambican research institutions that are in the business of conducting public opinion polls. These meetings confirmed that there was local capacity that FRELIMO could also commission to conduct polls on their behalf, thus filling the gaps that exist within the party as well as obtaining unbiased information.

The assessment clearly indicated the areas of priority if FRELIMO were to perfect skills in order to conduct viable polls itself. Such areas include developing the questionnaire, sampling and analysis of the results. Training of FRELIMO cadres on techniques to conduct polls will be conducted in June, and recommendations will be made to FRELIMO in terms of outsourcing options for fieldwork to be done by August. Rivlin also held a de-briefing

meeting with USAID's democracy and governance team, including the mission director, Cynthia Rozell.

#### *CEDE Sub-grant*

Vijaya Chandarpal, NDI's Sub-Grants Administrator based in Washington, D.C., and Lesley Steyn, Regional Finance Administrator from the Johannesburg regional office, were in Maputo from February 19 to 22 to conduct training for CEDE (Center for the Study of Democracy and Development,) on the procedures and systems to be established by CEDE, a new sub-grantee. Steyn conducted training in Quicken accounting software and set up systems to facilitate the monthly financial control, management and reporting for CEDE. The training ran extremely smoothly and proved beneficial.

CEDE's first program and financial report to NDI (Attachment 1), for October 2000 to March 2001 was developed and submitted. During this period, CEDE concentrated its activities on securing political support and establishing programmatic and logistical conditions for the launching of the DSP (Democracy and Society Project). Contacts were established with a number of major stakeholders, staff was hired and trained, office facilities were identified and rented, and an agreement was reached with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) for the transfer to CEDE of equipment and furniture from the War-Torn Societies Project, CEDE's predecessor.

Currently CEDE is developing a discussion paper on the "State of the Country" to be presented to the first meeting of the National Group of all the stakeholders – selected people from the political and social spectrum, as well as NDI-designated consultants. The paper will provide an analysis of the present situation in the country, including a wide range of viewpoints, without arguing in favor of a particular perspective, in order to provoke a constructive discussion on issues that mostly affect the country. The paper will include a short list of potential issues for research and discussion.

During the month of February, NDI attended several strategic planning workshops of the newly formed "Movement for Peace and Citizens," which seeks to increase citizen's participation in the political process by stimulating dialogue between the political parties and civil society. NDI's interest is to promote the participation and commitment from political parties in this activity and ensure that this complement CEDE's activities.

#### *RENAMO-EU (Electoral Union)*

The third set of regional training seminars for the Youth League and the Parliamentary Bench, previously scheduled for this period, were both cancelled after NDI received a formal letter from RENAMO-EU requesting the delay of such activities. This was done so that the party could re-organize its internal coordination and re-structure the liaison group responsible for the party training program. In addition, the current political environment continued to impact negatively on the implementation of training activities. NDI held consultations with the party in preparation for the workshop and one-on-one consultations on party reform, scheduled for April 17 to 21.

### *Other Activities*

As part of an ongoing effort to avoid duplication of programs, European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) invited NDI to a two-day multi-party seminar on “Women and Politics” conducted by several Mozambican trainers, including NDI’s Angela Abdula, who was able to bring to the seminar NDI’s experience in training women for political party participation. This seminar brought together 50 women from different parties in the country and included both FRELIMO and RENAMO. AWEPA’s program has a component of working with political parties, which, where possible, were closely coordinated with them. The seminar brought together leaders and women of most political parties, mainly from the extra-parliamentary party formations.

Extensive consultations were held with the Dutch Foundation for Democracy in Mozambique and with AWEPA to discuss possible areas of coordination with regard to the request to train RENAMO in preparation for the 2003 local elections. Discussions also included the request from RENAMO to support the working groups as a way of stimulating the Chissano/Dhlakama dialogue. Since promoting constructive political dialogue is one of the objectives of the current program, NDI cannot dismiss requests that have potential to influence or compliment the CEDE sub-grant activities. NDI held extensive consultations with USAID to finalize the development of the baseline for the program indicators for results reporting.

## **IV. Results and Accomplishments**

*Activity: Training-Strategic planning and negotiation skills-GRM*

<b>Objective 2:</b> Political Parties acquire organizational skills and capacities that enable them to compete and participate effectively in the political order
<b>Indicator:</b> Improved administration and democratically elected structures, effective grassroots organizing and communication.
<b>Intermediate Result:</b> (USAID IR 2.2.5.2 & 2.2.5.3) the movement establishes functional party administration and management for long-term stability, and increased institutional capacity to identify, represent and expand its defined constituency in the electorate. <b>Results/Accomplishments:</b> GRM has clearly been able to put into practice lessons learned from the several training seminars on organizational development and the need to adopt internal democratic principles. The re-drafting of new internal structure and the holding of internal elections have demonstrated the impact of NDI training and support. The work done by NDI has been very worthwhile and recipients of the training will continue to be involved in the political process bringing with them the much needed progressive ideas, even if they are subsumed by other political parties.

## **V. Administration**

Thabi Mngadi traveled to Dullstroom to participate in the NDI Directors’ meeting held from the February 2 to 4.

## **VI. Future Activities**

April 17-21 – Consultations, Party Reform for RENAMO

April-June—Training for RENAMO Parliamentarians (ongoing)

May 02-05—Youth training program -RENAMO

May 15-18 –Party Reform –FRELIMO (dates might change-dependent on Elections in Britain since Labor Party assigning the consultant)

May-June-Party building workshops—Local elections

June--Training of FRELIMO cadres on techniques to conduct polls will be conducted in June and recommendations will be made to FRELIMO in terms of outsourcing options for fieldwork to be done in August.

## **Attachment 1**

### **NDI Five-Month Report Democratic Society Program-CEDE Cooperative Agreement No: 01-99101-Moz. 0-294 October 1, 2000 to February 28, 2001**

Under the terms of the sub-grant agreement signed between the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) and the Centro de Estudos de Democracia e Desenvolvimento (CEDE), CEDE agreed to undertake a program to foster dialogue among political parties and policy stakeholders, known as the Democratic Society Program (DSP). This report extraordinarily covers DSP activities during the period from October 1, 2000 to February 28, 2001. The ordinary activity report will be submitted monthly.

#### **I. Summary**

During this period, CEDE concentrated its activities on securing political support and establishing programmatic and logistic conditions for the launching of the DSP. Contacts were held with a number of major stakeholders, a work-plan was developed, staff was hired and trained, office facilities were identified and rented. An agreement was reached with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) to transfer to CEDE the equipment and furniture from the War-Torn Societies Project (CEDE's predecessor) presently under UNDP custody.

#### **II. Activities**

From October to December, 2000, CEDE's Executive Director, Dr. Brazão Mazula, engaged in a number of discussions with political party leaders, founding members of CEDE, religious leaders, and other major stakeholders in order to explain the concepts behind the DSP and to secure their support. These rounds of contacts culminated in a meeting on Dec.18 attended by a core group of 18 people to advise CEDE on how to proceed with DSP's implementation. Together with NDI and USAID, a tentative budget was developed, including operating and program costs, for a period of 12 months.

After an intensive and extensive search, Guilherme Mbilana, a program officer and a researcher with previous experience in the same research-dialogue methodology as the one to be used in the DSP, was identified and hired in December. During the same quarter, an office was identified and occupied, but due to contractual problems new office facilities had to be located in early January 2001.

In the first two months of 2001, the final programmatic and logistical conditions were put in place. The sub-grant agreement was signed, including a one-year budget, a disbursement



mechanism, and reporting and evaluation requirements. A work-plan for the remainder of the sub-grant period was finalized. Additional staff was hired, and, from February 19 to 21, both the Program Officer and the Administrative Assistant, Luis Alfândiga, underwent training by NDI on Grant Management procedures. At the end of February, CEDE and UNDP signed a Transfer Agreement for the furniture and equipment of the War-Torn Societies Project, to be legally and physically transferred to CEDE.

As part of the preparatory phase for the launching of the Program, Mbilana attended the first public debate organized by the Movimento pela Paz e Cidadania (MPC), a new informal coalition of Civil Society Organizations and private citizens aimed at increasing citizen participation in the democratic process. The topic for debate was “The rule of law and the expansion of organized crime in Mozambique.” Corruption by public officials, promiscuity between politics and business, and government inaction vis-à-vis organized crime were the major issues raised during the discussion, which was attended by more than 70 people.

### **III. Results, Accomplishments and Future Activities**

Over the past 5 months, most of the basic programmatic and logistical conditions for the launching of the DSP in mid or late-April were put in place. The next steps for the month of March include the production of a discussion paper on the “state of the country” to be presented to the first meeting of the National Group of the DSP and the conclusion of outstanding logistical matters. In April, the DSP will be launched with the first National Group meeting, the selection of research-dialogue topics, and the creation of dialogue groups around those themes.